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EXDIS, FOR US CSCE DEL

FOLLOWING REPEAT BRUSSELS 4584 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA
ATHENS BONN COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE LONDON LISBON LUXEMBOURG
OSLO OTTAWA PARIS ROME REYKJAVIK MOSCOW NATO 26 JUN 74

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 4584

EXDIS

SECTO 33

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (NIXON, RICHARD M.)

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF NAC PLENARY DISCUSSION, JUNE 26, 1974

1. TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT TO NAC IS BEING
SENT SEPTEL. HERE FOLLOWS SUMMARY OF REMARKS OF OTHER
PARTICIPANTS, AND CLOSING REMARKS BY PRESIDENT.

2. SYG LUNS OPENED MEETING BY WELCOMING PARTICIPANTS.
COMING JUST AFTER OTTAWA MINISTERIAL AND JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT'S
VISIT TO MOSCOW, MEETING WAS MOST ELOQUENT EXPRESSION
OF WISH OF ALLIANCE FOR CONSULTATION. HE THEN INTRO-
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DUCED PRESIDENT NIXON WHO SPOKE FIRST. (SEPTEL)

3. ITALIAN PREMIER RUMOR FOLLOWED PRESIDENT BY RE-
AFFIRMING THAT ALLIANCE WAS IRREPLACEABLE LINK THAT

UNITED US. ITS FOUNDATION WAS FAITH IN DEMOCRATIC VALUES, OUR UNITY, AND FINALLY THE CONVICTION THAT THE EUROPEAN UNION THAT WOULD BE CREATED WOULD MAKE A VALID CONTRIBUTION. PRESIDENT'S MISSION TO MOSCOW WOULD BE DIFFICULT, BUT MADE EASIER BY SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATED HERE BY SIGNING DECLARATION. ITALY SAW DETENTE AS AN IRREVERSIBLE PHENOMENON, BUT EAST-WEST DIALOGUE HAD TO TAKE PLACE IN CLEAR KNOWLEDGE OF CONDITIONS.

DETENTE ALSO SHOULD CORRESPOND TO NEW FORMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS ON THE CONTINENT; ALTHOUGH IT MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE SPECIAL STATUS OF EUROPE SINCE 1945, IT MUST NOT CRYSTALIZE DIVISION OF EUROPE. FREE EX-CHANGE OF, PERSONS, IDEAS, TECHNOLOGY, AND INFORMATION HAD TO BE ALLOWED.

4. UK PM WILSON COMPARED CURRENT SUCCESS BEING CELEBRATED TO DEEP ANXIETIES FELT 25 YEARS BEFORE. THE WAY AGEAD FOR ALL OF US LAY IN POSITIVE PURPOSES, WHICH CHURCHILL HAD ONCE DESCRIBED TO WILSON AS "EASEMENT" OF RELATIONS. HE ADDED THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT BE MEETING HERE NOR WOULD HAVE SURVIVED IF WE DID NOT HAVE SUPPORT OF OUR PARLIAMENTS. HE URGED GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE MEANS WHEREBY OUR ELECTED PARLIAMENTS COULD ADD THAT NECESSARY DEMOCRATIC DIMENSION TO OUR ENDEAVOR.

5. FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT STRESSED ECONOMIC STRAINS FACING ALLIANCE, VIZ., INFLATION, INCREASING PRICES OF IOL AND RAW MATERIALS, AND UNPRECEDENTED PAY-MENTS DEFICITS IN MEMBER COUNTRIES AND THIRD WORLD. HE FEARED DANGEROUS CYCLE OF INFLATION, RESTRICTIVE MEASURES, UNEMPLOYMENT AND RECESSION, WHICH WOULD INEVITABLEY LEAD TO GREAT STRAIN IN INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SCHMIDT SAW THIS AS GREATER DANGER NOW THAN MILITARY PROBLEMS, AND FEARED GENERAL LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE DANGER.

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6. DANISH PM HARTLING SAW DECLARATION AS IMPORTANT POLITICAL MANIFESTATION. HE AGREED WITH WHAT HAD BEEN SAID ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN UNITY TO AIMS OF ALLIANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN THAT ALLIANCE WAS CREATED TO DEFEND OUR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. HE EXPRESSED BEST WISHES TO PRESIDENT IN HIS ENDEAVORS. HE HOPED DETENTE WOULD BE GIVEN CONCRETE MEANING FOR THE INDIVIDUAL.

7. NETHERLANDS PM DEN UYL SAW MEETING AS WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO PUT INTO PRACTICE DECLARATION PARA-GRAPH ELEVEN ON CLOSE AND TIMELY CONSULTATION. HE

HOPED PRESIDENT'S EXAMPLE WOULD BE FOLLOWED. NETHERLANDS SAW LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AS OF PRIMORDIAL IMPORTANCE FOR WORLD STABILITY; HE HOPED TO SEE AGREEMENT TO LIMIT MIRVED ICBM'S AND TO TAKE STEP TOWARD COMPLETE TEST BAN. HE SAW CSCE AS PLACE WHERE WE WOULD DETERMINE NATURE OF RELATIONS TO EMERGE FROM CURRENT PROCESS OF DETENTE -- WHETHER NEW RELATIONS WOULD LEAD TO GREATER OPENNESS AND HUMAN UNDERSTANDING. HE CITED IMPORTANCE OF AID TO LDC'S AND MAINTAINING GOALS OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, AND JUSTICE.

8. PM ECEVIT OF TURKEY BELIEVED DECLARATION SHOWED ALLIANCE HAD MET ITS REAL TEST. EVEN WITHOUT ALLIANCE, NATIONS CAN JOIN AGAINST COMMON DANGER IN WAR; REAL TEST COMES IN PERIOD OF PEACE AND DETENTE. HE BELIEVED THAT ALLIANCE MUST HAVE UNIVERSAL MESSAGE AND MEANING; THEREFORE HE WAS PLEASED TO SEE SUCH A MESSAGE IN DECLARATION, IM COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT FREEDOM WAS AN ABSTRACTION WITHOUT HUMAN MEANING. HE CONGRATULATED PRESIDENT AND SECSTATE FOR MIDEAST EFFORTS AND FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT FOR TIMELY WARNING ON ECONOMIC DANGER.

9. PAUL MARTIN, CANADIAN REP, CONGRATULATED PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY FOR BOLDNESS AND IMAGINATION IN NEW INITIATIVES -- IN PRC, SOVIET UNION, VIET-NAM, AND MIDEAST -- AND FOR CONSULTING NATO BEFORE MOSCOW
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SUMMIT. HE SAW PROBLEM IN DEFINING MEANING OF DETENTE. SOVIETS SAW IT AS CONFIRMING STATUS QUO, CAREFUL MANAGEMENT OF SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, ACCESS TO WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, AND GAINING FREEDOM TO DEAL WITH CHINA. WEST, HOWEVER, SAW RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS AS FRAGILE UNLESS UNDERPINNED BY GREATER UNDERSTANDING. THEREFORE WE WERE PRESSING IN CSCE FOR GREATER HUMAN CONTACTS, MOVEMENT, AND INFORMATION. HE HOPED PRESIDENT WOULD CONVEY THIS TO BREZHNEV.10. PORTUGUESE PM DA PA LMA CARLOS REITERATED IMPORTANCE HIS COUNTRY ATTACHED TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS. FAITHFUL TO PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY NEW DEMOCRATIC REGIME, PORTUGAL HAD ALREADY REACHED AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH USSR, ROMANIA, GDR, AND YUGOSLAVIA. LOYAL TO DETENTE POLICY WHICH WAS POLICY OF ALLIANCE, HE CONVEYED BEST WISHES TO PRESIDENT FOR TALKS IN MOSCOW WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE SO MUCH TO ALLIANCE OBJECTIVES.

11. CHIRAC OF FRANCE REITERATED THAT FRANCE WAS FULL MEMBER OF ALLIANCE AND INTENDED SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVE OBLIGATIONS OF WASHINGTON TREATY. IN STRENGTHENING

OWN DEFENSES, FRANCE FELT IT WAS STRENGTHENING DEFENSE OF ALLIANCE. THIS WAS IN NO WAY INCONSISTENT WITH THE WISH, WHICH HE WANTED TO REAFFIRM TODAY, TO REMAIN OUTSIDE THE INTEGRATED MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF NATO. NEW GENERATION WAS COMING ALONG FOR WHOM MEMORIES AND FEARS OF 1949 WERE BLURRED. NEVERTHELESS ALLIANCE REMAINED ESSENTIAL AND THERE COULD BE NO DETENTE WITHOUT SOLIDARITY. FRANCE WAS DETENTE AS LONG-TERM AND FRAGILE PROCESS. FRANCE WAS FULLY AWARE OF WHAT WAS AT STAKE IN US-SOVIET TALKS AND APPRECIATED BEING INFORMED BEFORE AND AFTER. HE HOPED MOSCOW SUMMIT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO DETENTE WORLDWIDE.

12. PREMIER ANDROUTSOPoulos OF GREECE EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT HAPPY CONCLUSION OF DECLARATION ON WHAT INSPIRED OUR ALLIANCE. HE CITED PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY IN DEFENSE, NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE EFFICIENCY IN DEFENSE, U.S. COMMITMENT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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MAINTAIN FORCES IN EUROPE AND TO CONSULT, AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST, PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

13. THORSTEINSSON OF ICELAND SAID RECENT YEARS HAD SEEN MANY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS BUT LAST FEW MONTHS HAD BEEN PERIOD OF RELATIVE STAGNATION. CSCE WAS EXAMPLE. THIS REMINDED US DETENTE IS FRAGILE PROCESS AND MADE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MOSCOW A TIMELY ONE. HE HOPED RESULTS WOULD SPEED UP DETENTE.

14. TINDEMANS, PM OF BELGIUM, HAILED PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO NAC AS MANIFESTATION OF SPIRIT WHICH MUST AND SHOULD INFORM OTTAWA DECLARATION. IMPORTANCE OF MOSCOW VISIT COULD NOT BE OVERESTIMATED. ON CSCE, HE SAW AGREEMENT ON NEED FOR COMMON POSITION ON LEVEL AND DATE OF THIRD PHASE. QUESTION WAS WHETHER CSCE REALLY CONTRIBUTED TO DETENTE OR WHETHER IT ONLY PROLONGED DIALOGUE UNDULY OR EVEN POISONED IT OR CALLED ITS AIMS INTO QUESTION. HE AGREED DETENTE WAS COMPLEX AND FRAGILE LONG-TERM PROCESS. THIRD STAGE WOULD PROBABLY NOT BRING SPECTACULAR RESULTS, BUT ONLY A SPECTACULAR RESULT -- WHICH HE DIDN'T ENVISAGE, WOULD WARRANT AN EAST-WEST SUMMIT. WE COULD NOT YET FIX A DATE FOR THE THIRD STAGE. TINDEMANS ENDORSED MBFR AND WARNED AGAINST UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS BY ANY NATO MEMBER.

15. BRATTELI, PM OF NORWAY, CITED THREE POINTS IN DECLARATION: THAT SOLIDARITY WAS KEY TO SECURITY, THAT CONSULTATION WAS ESSENTIAL FOR COOPERATION AND CONFIDENCE, AND THAT SECURITY AND SOLIDARITY WERE PREREQUISITES TO DETENTE. SMALL POWERS DID NOT WANT

TO BE RULED BY SUPERPOWERS, BUT NEIGHER DID THEY WANT
TO SEE CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM. HE STRESSED IMPORTANCE
OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO COMMAND BROAD
PUBLIC SUPPORT IN PEACETIME; ONLY ON THIS BASIS COULD
NATO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS OF SECURITY AND DETENTE.

16. THORN (PM OF LUXEMBOURT) AGREED WITH TINDEMANS
THAT CSCE RESULTS SO FAR WERE UNSATISFACTORY AND DIS-
APPOINTING AND DID NOT WARRANT SUMMIT. WEST SHOULD
INSIST ON SPEEDY DISCUSSIONS BUT THOROUGH STUDIES ON
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HUMAN CONTACTS QUESTION BEFORE DECIDING ON LEVEL.

17. PRESIDENT NIXON, IN REPLY, AGREED WITH SCHMIDT'S
POINT ABOUT NECESSITY FOR COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC
AREA -- IN WHICH HE INCLUDED ENERGY FIELD. COOPERATION
IN THIS AREA WOULD BUILD SUPPORT IN EACH OF OUR
COUNTRIES FOR COOPERATION IN SECURITY AREA. OUR
VIEW OF DETENTE INCLUDED NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT COM-
MUNIST LEADERS' CONTINUED DRIVE AND DEDICATION TO THEIR
GOALS. THEY WOULD BE DRAWN BY THEIR INTERESTS INTO
NEGOTIATIONS WITH U.S. AND OTHER ALLIES; THEREFORE
OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO GIVE THEM STAKE IN AVOIDING
ARMS RACE AND IN COOPERATIVE RELATIONS IN VARIOUS
FIELDS. THSY WOULD BE DRAWN TO WEST NOT BY DECLA-
RATIONS BUT BY OUR SOLIDARTY ON SECURITY SIDE.
A HOPEFUL PERIOD LIKE THE PRESENT CONTAINED ITS OWN
DANGERS, SUCH AS THAT COMMUNIST FORCES IN WORLD WOULD
INEVITABLY GAIN IN RESPECTABILITY IN ALL OUR COUNTRIES.
BUT PRESIDENT WAS CONFIDENT THAT, BECAUSE LEADERS
WERE AWARE OF THE DANGER, WE WOULD MEET THEM. KISSINGER
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